The Historicity of Jesus of Nazareth: Evidence from Non-Christian Sources

拿撒勒人耶穌之歷史真實性：非基督教史料之證據

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Introduction 引言

The question of whether Jesus of Nazareth was a real historical figure can be answered with substantial confidence using sources that are entirely independent of the Christian Bible. Roman historians, a Jewish historian, a Stoic philosopher, a satirist, and even the rabbinic tradition of the Talmud all make reference—directly or indirectly—to Jesus or to the movement that bears his name, within the first and early second centuries of the Common Era. This essay presents these sources in their original languages, with transliterations and translations, and evaluates their significance for establishing the historicity of Jesus.

拿撒勒人耶穌是否為真實的歷史人物，這個問題可以藉由完全獨立於基督教聖經之外的史料，以相當高的信心加以回答。羅馬歷史學家、一位猶太歷史學家、一位斯多葛派哲學家、一位諷刺作家，甚至猶太教塔木德的拉比傳統，皆在公元一世紀至二世紀初期間，直接或間接提及耶穌或以其名命名的運動。本文將以原始語言呈現這些史料，附加音譯及翻譯，並評估其對於確立耶穌歷史真實性之重要意義。

I. Flavius Josephus (c. 37–100 AD): A Jewish Historian

一、弗拉維烏斯·約瑟夫斯（約公元37–100年）：一位猶太歷史學家

Flavius Josephus (Yosef ben Matityahu), a Jewish priest, military leader, and historian who wrote under Roman patronage, provides the two earliest and most important non-Christian references to Jesus. His *Antiquities of the Jews* (*Antiquitates Judaicae*), written c. 93–94 AD, contains two passages that mention Jesus by name.

弗拉維烏斯·約瑟夫斯（希伯來名：約瑟夫·本·馬提提亞胡），一位猶太祭司、軍事領袖，亦為在羅馬庇護下寫作之歷史學家，提供了最早且最重要的兩則非基督教關於耶穌之記載。其《猶太古史》（*Antiquitates Judaicae*），寫成於約公元93–94年，包含兩段提及耶穌名字的段落。

A. The Testimonium Flavianum (*Antiquities* 18.63–64)

甲、弗拉維安見證（《猶太古史》18.63–64）

Greek Original (希臘文原文):

Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνήρ, εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο· ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένον οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.

Transliteration (音譯):

Ginetai de kata touton ton chronon Iēsous sophos anēr, eige andra auton legein chrē; ēn gar paradoxōn ergōn poiētēs, didaskalos anthrōpōn tōn hēdonē talēthē

dechomenōn. kai pollous men Ioudaious, pollous de kai tou Hellēnikou epēgageto; ho Christos houtos ēn. kai auton endeixei tōn prōtōn andrōn par' hēmin staurō epitetimēkotos Pilatou, ouk epausanto hoi to prōton agapēsantes; ephanē gar autois tritēn echōn hēmeran palin zōn, tōn theiōn prophētōn tauta te kai alla myria peri autou thaumasia eirēkotōn. eis eti te nyn tōn Christianōn apo toude ōnomasmenon ouk epelipe to phylon.

Translation:

"About this time there appeared Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one should call him a man. For he was a doer of paradoxical works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He won over many Jews and also many of the Greeks. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men among us, had condemned him to a cross, those who had first loved him did not cease. For he appeared to them on the third day, living again, the divine prophets having related both these things and countless other marvels about him. And even now the tribe of Christians, so named from him, has not gone extinct."

「約當此時，出現了耶穌，一位智者，若確實可以稱他為人的話。蓋其乃行非凡之事者，為歡喜接受真理之人的教師。他吸引了許多猶太人，也吸引了許多希臘人。此人即基督。當彼拉多因我們中間首要之人的控告而判處他釘十字架時，那些最初愛他的人並未停止。因為他在第三天向他們顯現，再次活著，如神聖先知所預言的這些事以及關於他的無數其他奇蹟。甚至直到如今，以他命名的基督徒族群並未消失。」

Critical Note (學術評注): The scholarly consensus holds that the passage is partially authentic—that Josephus did write about Jesus here, but that later Christian scribes added or modified several phrases, particularly "if indeed one should call him a man" (εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή), "He was the Christ" (ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν), and the reference to the resurrection. The eminent scholar John P. Meier (1990) proposed a

reconstructed original that reads more neutrally, consistent with Josephan style, calling Jesus simply "a wise man" (σοφὸς ἀνήρ / *sophos anēr*)—a phrase Josephus also uses of Solomon (*AJ* VIII.53) and Daniel (*AJ* X.237). The late Geza Vermes, a Jewish scholar, proposed a nearly identical reconstruction. This majority position is held by a remarkably wide range of scholars: Christians, Jews, and secular academics alike, including E.P. Sanders, Paula Fredriksen, John Dominic Crossan, and many others.

學術界的共識認為此段落為部分真實——約瑟夫斯確實在此寫到耶穌，但後來的基督教抄寫者增添或修改了若干措辭，尤其是「若確實可以稱他為人的話」（εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή）、「此人即基督」（ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν），以及關於復活的記載。著名學者約翰·P·梅爾（1990年）提出了一個較為中立的原始文本重建，符合約瑟夫斯的寫作風格，僅稱耶穌為「一位智者」——約瑟夫斯亦曾以此語稱所羅門（《猶太古史》八卷53節）及但以理（《猶太古史》十卷237節）。已故猶太學者蓋扎·維爾默斯提出了幾乎相同的重建。此多數派立場獲得範圍極廣之學者群的支持：基督徒、猶太學者和世俗學者皆然，包括E.P.桑德斯、寶拉·弗雷德里克森、約翰·多米尼克·克羅森等眾多人士。

(References: Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.63–64, ed. B. Niese, 1890; J.P. Meier, "Jesus in Josephus: A Modest Proposal," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 52.1 (1990): 76–103; Geza Vermes, "Jesus in the Eyes of Josephus," *Standpoint*, December 2009; J.C. Paget, "Some Observations on Josephus and Christianity," *Journal of Theological Studies* 52.2 (2001): 539–624.)

B. The James Passage (*Antiquities* 20.200)

乙、雅各段落（《猶太古史》**20.200**）

Greek Original (希臘文原文):

...τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ...

Transliteration (音譯):

...ton adelphon lēsou tou legomenou Christou, Iakōbos onoma autō...

Translation:

"...the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James..."

「……耶穌的兄弟，那被稱為基督的，其名為雅各……」

Context (脈絡): Josephus reports that the high priest Ananus convened the Sanhedrin to bring charges against James and others as breakers of the law, and that they were delivered to be stoned. This passage is almost universally regarded as authentic by scholars because it mentions Jesus only incidentally, as a means of identifying which James is meant. The phrase τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ (*tou legomenou Christou*, "the one called Christ") is not a confession of faith but a distancing, explanatory identification—exactly what we would expect from a non-Christian Jewish author.

約瑟夫斯記載大祭司亞拿努斯召開公議會，控告雅各及其他人違反律法，將他們交付石刑處死。此段落幾乎被學者一致認為是真實的，因其僅附帶提及耶穌，作為辨別所指之雅各是哪一位的手段。措辭τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ（「那被稱為基督的」）並非信仰告白，而是一種保持距離的解釋性標識——正是我們對非基督教猶太作者的預期。

(References: Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 20.200, ed. B. Niese; Robert E. Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament: An Introduction to the Ancient Evidence*, Eerdmans, 2000, pp. 83–104.)

II. Publius Cornelius Tacitus (c. 56–120 AD): A Roman Senator and Historian

二、普布利烏斯·科爾內利烏斯·塔西佗（約公元56–120年）：一位羅馬元老院議員暨歷史學家

Tacitus is widely regarded as the greatest historian of Imperial Rome. In his *Annals* (written c. 116 AD), Book 15, Chapter 44, he reports on Emperor Nero's persecution of Christians after the Great Fire of Rome in 64 AD.

塔西佗被廣泛認為是帝國羅馬最偉大的歷史學家。在其《編年史》（約公元116年寫成）第十五卷第四十四章中，他記載了公元64年羅馬大火後尼祿皇帝迫害基督徒之事。

Latin Original (拉丁文原文):

...ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Chrestianos appellabat. auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.

Translation:

"Consequently, to get rid of the report, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their centre and become popular."

「因此，為了消除流言，尼祿加罪於一群因其惡行而為眾所憎恨之人，民間稱他們為基督徒，施以最精心設計之酷刑。此名之起源者基督，在提比略統治期間，由我們的一位總督龐提

烏斯·彼拉圖斯處以極刑；這一極其有害的迷信因此一時被遏止，但又再度蔓延，不僅在猶地亞——此禍患的發源地——而且遍及羅馬城，凡天下一切殘忍或可恥之事皆匯聚並流行於此。」

Analysis (分析): This passage is of extraordinary historical value. Tacitus was a member of the *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, the priestly council responsible for overseeing foreign religious cults in Rome, which gave him professional reason to be informed about Christianity. He was hostile toward Christians, calling their beliefs a "mischievous superstition" (*exitiabilis superstitio*) and their origin a "source of evil" (*originem eius mali*). This hostile tone is itself a strong argument for the authenticity of the passage—no Christian forger would have described the faith in these terms. The scholarly consensus affirms the passage as genuine and not an interpolation.

此段落具有非凡的歷史價值。塔西佗為「十五人神聖祭典委員會」之成員，該祭司團負責監督羅馬境內的外來宗教崇拜，這使他有職務上的理由知悉基督教之事。他對基督徒抱有敵意，稱其信仰為「極其有害的迷信」（*exitiabilis superstitio*），稱其起源為「禍患之源」（*originem eius mali*）。這種敵對語調本身即是此段落真實性的有力論據——沒有任何基督教偽造者會以此等措辭描述自己的信仰。學術界的共識確認此段落為真實，並非竄改。

Tacitus confirms several facts independently: that the founder of Christianity was named Christus, that he was executed under Pontius Pilatus, that this occurred during the reign of Tiberius, that the movement originated in Judaea, and that it subsequently spread to Rome.

塔西佗獨立證實了若干事實：基督教的創始者名為基督（Christus），他在龐提烏斯·彼拉圖斯治下被處死，此事發生在提比略統治期間，此運動源於猶地亞，並隨後傳播至羅馬。

(References: Tacitus, *Annales* 15.44, *Codex Laurentianus Mediceus* 68.2 (11th century), Laurentian Library, Florence; Robert E. Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament*, pp. 39–53; Craig A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, Brill,

2001, p. 42; Paul R. Eddy and Gregory A. Boyd, *The Jesus Legend*, Baker, 2007, p. 127.)

III. Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (Pliny the Younger, c. 61–113 AD): A Roman Governor

三、蓋烏斯·普林尼烏斯·凱基利烏斯·塞坤都斯（小普林尼，約公元61–113年）：一位羅馬總督

As governor of Bithynia and Pontus (in modern Turkey), Pliny wrote a letter to Emperor Trajan around 111–112 AD (*Epistulae* 10.96) seeking guidance on how to handle Christians brought before him in trials.

小普林尼任比提尼亞與本都（今土耳其境內）總督時，約於公元111–112年致信圖拉真皇帝（《書信集》10.96），就如何處理在審判中被帶到他面前的基督徒尋求指導。

Latin Original (拉丁文原文, key passage):

Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.

Translation:

"They declared that the totality of their guilt or error amounted to no more than this: they had been accustomed to meet on a fixed day before dawn and sing a hymn antiphonally to Christ as if to a god (*carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem*), and to bind themselves by oath—not for any criminal purpose—but to abstain from fraud, banditry, and adultery, to commit no breach of trust, and not to deny a deposit when called upon to restore it."

「他們聲稱其全部罪行或過錯不過如此：他們習慣於某固定日期天亮前聚集，交替吟唱讚歌，如向一位神明一般崇拜基督（*carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem*），並以誓約約束自己——並非為任何犯罪目的——而是戒絕詐欺、盜劫、通姦，不違背信義，受索時不拒絕歸還託管之物。」

Analysis (分析): The phrase *carmenque Christo quasi deo* ("a hymn to Christ as if to a god") is significant. Pliny reports that former Christians had described their practices to him under examination (some even under torture). Pliny also writes *Nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam, immodicam*—"I found nothing but a degenerate sort of superstition carried to immoderate lengths." Like Tacitus, he is hostile toward the movement, further confirming the independence of his testimony. Although Pliny does not describe the historical life of Jesus directly, his report confirms that within approximately 80 years of Jesus' death, a widespread movement centered on the worship of "Christus" as a divine figure was already firmly established across the Roman provinces.

carmenque Christo quasi deo（「如向一位神明般向基督唱讚歌」）此語極為重要。普林尼報告說，前基督徒在受審時（有些甚至在酷刑下）向他描述了他們的做法。普林尼還寫道：*Nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam, immodicam*——「我所發現的不過是一種被推向過度的墮落迷信。」與塔西佗一樣，他對此運動持敵意態度，進一步確認了其證詞的獨立性。雖然普林尼未直接描述耶穌的歷史生平，但其報告證實，在耶穌死後約八十年內，一個以崇拜「基督」為神明般人物為中心的廣泛運動已在羅馬各行省牢固確立。

(References: Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 10.96, text based on S.E. Stout, 1962; Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament*, pp. 23–29.)

IV. Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (c. 69–122 AD): A Roman Biographer

四、蓋烏斯·蘇維托尼烏斯·特蘭奎盧斯（約公元69–122年）：一位羅馬傳記作家

In his *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (*De Vita Caesarum*), written c. 121 AD, Suetonius mentions disturbances among Jews in Rome connected with "Chrestus."

蘇維托尼烏斯在其約公元121年寫成的《十二凱撒傳》（*De Vita Caesarum*）中，提到了羅馬猶太人中與「克雷斯圖斯」有關的騷亂。

Latin Original (拉丁文原文, *Vita Claudii* 25.4):

Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.

Translation:

"He expelled from Rome the Jews who were constantly making disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus."

「他將在克雷斯圖斯的煽動下不斷騷亂的猶太人驅逐出羅馬。」

Additionally, in *Vita Neronis* 16.2, Suetonius writes:

此外，在《尼祿傳》16.2中，蘇維托尼烏斯寫道：

Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae.

"Punishments were inflicted on the Christians, a class of men given to a new and mischievous superstition."

「刑罰加諸基督徒——一群沉溺於新的有害迷信之人。」

Analysis (分析): The name "Chrestus" (*Chresto*) in the Claudius passage is widely understood by scholars to be a variant spelling of "Christus." The confusion of *e* and *i* (*Chrestus* vs. *Christus*) was common in Latin. Most scholars believe the passage refers to disputes within the Jewish community in Rome over the teachings about Jesus

Christ, which led Emperor Claudius (who reigned 41–54 AD) to expel the Jews. The passage does not necessarily mean Christ was physically present in Rome; rather, it was the controversy about him that caused the disturbance.

克勞狄烏斯段落中的「克雷斯圖斯」（*Chresto*）一名，被學者普遍理解為「基督」（*Christus*）的變體拼法。拉丁文中*e*與*i*的混淆（*Chrestus*對*Christus*）是常見的。大多數學者認為此段落指的是羅馬猶太社群內部關於耶穌基督教導之爭論，導致克勞狄烏斯皇帝（在位公元41–54年）驅逐了猶太人。此段落未必意味基督本人在羅馬；毋寧說是關於他的爭議引發了騷動。

(References: Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, *Divus Claudius* 25.4; *Nero* 16.2; text in LacusCurtius (Loeb Classical Library); Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament*, pp. 29–39.)

V. Lucian of Samosata (c. 125–180 AD): A Syrian Greek Satirist

五、薩莫薩塔的路吉安（約公元**125–180**年）：一位敘利亞裔希臘諷刺作家

Lucian, a pagan satirist and rhetorician, mocked Christians in his work *The Passing of Peregrinus* (*Περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς* / *De Morte Peregrini*), written c. 165–170 AD.

路吉安，一位異教諷刺作家與修辭家，在其約公元165–170年寫成的作品《佩雷格里努斯之死》（*Περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς* / *De Morte Peregrini*）中嘲弄了基督徒。

Greek Original (希臘文原文, sections 11 and 13):

(§11) ...τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτὸν προσκυνῶσιν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιῶσιν.

(§13) ...ὁ μὲν πρῶτος νομοθέτης αὐτῶν ἔπεισεν ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν ἀλλήλων...

Transliteration (音譯):

(§11) ...ton de aneskolopismenon ekeinon sophistēn auton proskynōsin kai kata tous ekeinou nomous biōsin.

(§13) ...ho men prōtos nomothetēs autōn epeisen hōs adelphoi pantes eien allēlōn...

Translation:

(§11) "...they worship that crucified sophist himself and live under his laws."

(§13) "...their first lawgiver persuaded them that they are all brothers of one another..."

（§11）「……他們崇拜那位被釘十字架的智辯家本人，並依照他的律法而活。」

（§13）「……他們最初的立法者說服他們彼此皆為兄弟……」

Analysis (分析): The phrase τὸν ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστήν (*ton aneskolopismenon ekeinon sophistēn*, "that crucified sophist") is a mocking but unmistakable reference to Jesus. The verb ἀνασκολοπίζω (*anaskolopizō*) literally means "to impale" but was the standard Greek term used for crucifixion. Lucian also refers to Jesus as πρῶτος νομοθέτης (*prōtos nomothetēs*, "first lawgiver"), treating him as a real historical founder of the Christian movement. Lucian's contempt for Christianity makes him an entirely hostile and independent witness.

措辭τὸν ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστήν（「那位被釘十字架的智辯家」）是對耶穌的嘲諷但明確無誤的指涉。動詞ἀνασκολοπίζω字面意為「刺穿」，但為希臘文中用於釘十字架的標準用語。路吉安亦稱耶穌為πρῶτος νομοθέτης（「最初的立法者」），將其視為基督教運動之真實歷史創始者。路吉安對基督教的蔑視，使他成為完全敵對且獨立的見證人。

(References: Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini* 11–13, text from A.M. Harmon (Loeb), 1936, vol. 5; Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament*, pp. 58–64.)

VI. Mara bar Serapion (c. 73 AD–3rd century): A Syrian Stoic Philosopher

六、瑪拉·巴爾·塞拉皮翁（約公元73年–三世紀）：一位敘利亞斯多葛派哲學家

Mara bar Serapion was a pagan Stoic philosopher from Roman Syria who wrote a letter in Syriac (a dialect of Aramaic) to his son from prison. Most scholars date the letter to shortly after 73 AD. It compares the unjust deaths of three wise men.

瑪拉·巴爾·塞拉皮翁是來自羅馬敘利亞省的一位異教斯多葛派哲學家，他從獄中以敘利亞文（亞拉姆語之一種方言）致信其子。大多數學者將此信件的年代定於約公元73年之後不久。信中比較了三位智者的不義之死。

Syriac Original (敘利亞文原文, key passage, from BL Add. 14658):

ܡܢܐ ܝܬܪܘ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܕܩܛܠܘ ܡܠܟܗܘܢ ܚܟܝܡܐ

Transliteration (音譯):

Mānā yatrow Yehūdāyē d-qaṭlow malkā-hwn ḥakkīmā

Translation:

"What advantage did the Jews gain from executing their wise king?"

「猶太人處死他們的智慧君王，得到了什麼好處？」

The letter continues:

信中繼續寫道：

"God justly avenged these three wise men: the Athenians died of hunger; the Samians were overwhelmed by the sea; and the Jews, desolate and driven from their own kingdom, live in complete dispersion. But Socrates is not dead, because of Plato;

neither is Pythagoras, because of the statue of Juno; nor is the wise king, because of the 'new law' he laid down."

「上帝公正地為這三位智者報了仇：雅典人死於飢荒；薩摩斯人被海水淹沒；猶太人則荒涼淒慘，被驅逐出自己的王國，散居四方。但蘇格拉底並未死去，因為有柏拉圖；畢達哥拉斯亦然，因為有朱諾的雕像；那位智慧君王也不曾死去，因為有他所立定的『新法律』。」

Analysis (分析): The key Syriac terms are ܡܠܟܐ (*malkā*, "king") and ܚܟܝܡܐ (*ḥakkīmā*, "wise"). The phrase "wise king of the Jews" (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܚܟܝܡܐ / *malkā-ḥwn ḥakkīmā*) is widely understood by scholars such as Robert Van Voorst and Bruce Chilton to refer to Jesus. Critical indicators of its non-Christian origin include the observation that "king of the Jews" was not a Christian title for Jesus, and that the author says the wise king "lives on" because of the "new law" he enacted—not because of the resurrection, which is the central Christian claim. Mara's letter contains no Christian themes. If this letter does date to shortly after 73 AD, it represents what may be one of the very earliest non-Christian references to Jesus.

關鍵敘利亞文詞彙為ܡܠܟܐ（*malkā*，「王」）和ܚܟܝܡܐ（*ḥakkīmā*，「智慧的」）。「猶太人的智慧君王」（ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܚܟܝܡܐ / *malkā-ḥwn ḥakkīmā*）之措辭，被羅伯特·范沃爾斯特及布魯斯·奇爾頓等學者廣泛理解為指涉耶穌。指向其非基督教來源的關鍵線索包括：「猶太人的王」並非基督徒對耶穌的慣用稱號，且作者說那位智慧君王因他所訂立的「新法律」而「繼續活著」——而非因為復活，而復活乃是基督教的核心宣稱。瑪拉的書信不包含任何基督教主題。若此信確實可追溯至約公元73年之後不久，則它代表了可能是最早的非基督教對耶穌之記載之一。

(References: Mara bar Serapion, Letter, BL Add. 14658 (6th/7th century MS), British Library; text published by William Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, Rivingstons, 1855; Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament*, pp. 53–56;

Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, *Studying the Historical Jesus*, Brill, 1998, pp. 455–457.)

VII. The Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 43a: A Jewish Rabbinic Source

七、巴比倫塔木德《公議會篇》43a：一部猶太拉比文獻

The Babylonian Talmud, compiled in its final form between the 3rd and 6th centuries AD but containing traditions that many scholars trace back to the Tannaitic period (1st–2nd centuries), includes a passage in Tractate *Sanhedrin* 43a that is widely interpreted as a reference to Jesus.

巴比倫塔木德最終編纂於公元三至六世紀之間，但包含許多學者追溯至坦拿期（一至二世紀）的傳統，其中《公議會篇》43a的一段文字被廣泛解讀為關於耶穌的記載。

Hebrew/Aramaic Original (希伯來文／亞拉姆文原文, from the Munich manuscript, Cod. Hebr. 95):

בערב הפסח תלאוהו לישו הנוצרי. והכרוז יוצא לפניו מ׳ יום: ישו הנוצרי יוצא ליסקל על שכישף והסית והדיח את ישראל. כל מי שיודע לו זכות יבוא וילמד עליו. ולא מצאו לו זכות ותלאוהו בערב הפסח.

Transliteration (音譯):

B'erev ha-Pesaḥ tela'uhu l'Yeshu ha-Notzri. V'ha-karoz yotze l'fanav m' yom: Yeshu ha-Notzri yotze l'hissakel al she-kishef v'hisit v'hidiach et Yisrael. Kol mi she-yodea lo z'khut yavo v'yilamed alav. V'lo matz'u lo z'khut u-tela'uhu b'erev ha-Pesaḥ.

Translation:

"On the eve of Passover, they hanged Yeshu the Nazarene. And a herald went out before him for forty days: 'Yeshu the Nazarene is going out to be stoned because he

practiced sorcery and instigated and seduced Israel [to idolatry]. Anyone who knows anything in his defense, let him come and state it.' But they did not find anything in his defense, and they hanged him on the eve of Passover."

「在逾越節前夕，他們絞死了拿撒勒人耶穌。在他之前，有一名傳令官出去宣告了四十天：『拿撒勒人耶穌即將被處以石刑，因為他行巫術，並煽動誘惑以色列人〔行偶像崇拜〕。凡知道有利於他之證詞者，讓他前來陳述。』但他們未找到任何有利於他的證詞，於是在逾越節前夕將他絞死。」

Analysis (分析): The name used is ישו הנוצרי (*Yeshu ha-Notzri*, "Yeshu the Nazarene"). The term תלאוהו (*tela'uhu*, "they hanged him") is consistent with the use of "hanging" as a Jewish legal term that could encompass crucifixion. The passage places the execution on the eve of Passover (בערב הפסח / *b'erev ha-Pesaḥ*), a detail consistent with the chronology found in external traditions. The charges of sorcery (כישף / *kishef*) and leading Israel astray (הסית והדיח / *hisit v'hidiach*) are significant: they do not deny Jesus' deeds but reinterpret them as dark magic rather than miracles. Peter Schäfer (*Jesus in the Talmud*, Princeton, 2007) argues that these references are polemical counter-narratives that parody or respond to the Christian gospels, but he states that "there can be no doubt" that the passage refers to Jesus of Nazareth. The passage comes from the adversarial tradition—a hostile Jewish source that nonetheless confirms the historicity of the person it attacks.

所用之名為ישו הנוצרי（*Yeshu ha-Notzri*，「拿撒勒人耶穌」）。詞語תלאוהו（*tela'uhu*，「他們絞死了他」）與猶太法律術語中「懸掛」之用法一致，此用法可涵蓋釘十字架。此段將處決置於逾越節前夕（בערב הפסח / *b'erev ha-Pesaḥ*），此細節與外部傳統中的年代學一致。巫術（כישף / *kishef*）及引誘以色列人誤入歧途（הסית והדיח / *hisit v'hidiach*）之指控意義重大：它們並不否認耶穌之行為，而是將其重新解讀為邪術而非神蹟。彼得·謝弗（《塔木德中的耶穌》，普林斯頓出版社，2007年）主張這些記載乃是諷刺或回應基督教福音書的論戰性反敘事，

但他明確表示「毫無疑問」此段落指的是拿撒勒人耶穌。此段落出自敵對傳統——一個充滿敵意的猶太文獻來源，卻仍確認了其所攻擊之人物的歷史真實性。

(References: Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 43a, Munich Codex Hebr. 95 (preserved uncensored text); Peter Schäfer, *Jesus in the Talmud*, Princeton University Press, 2007; R. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, KTAV, 1903/2007; Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament*, pp. 104–122.)

VIII. Thallus (c. mid-1st century AD), as preserved by Julius Africanus (c. 221 AD): A Pagan Historian

八、塔盧斯（約公元一世紀中葉），經由尤利烏斯·阿非利加努斯（約公元221年）保存：一位異教歷史學家

Thallus was a historian writing in the mid-first century AD whose works are now lost but were cited by later writers. Julius Africanus, writing his *Chronography* c. 221 AD, quotes Thallus' attempt to explain the darkness that occurred at the time of the crucifixion.

塔盧斯是一位活躍於公元一世紀中葉的歷史學家，其著作現已佚失，但被後來的作家引用。尤利烏斯·阿非利加努斯在其約公元221年寫成的《編年史》中，引述了塔盧斯試圖解釋釘十字架時出現之黑暗的記載。

Greek fragment preserved by Africanus (希臘文殘篇，由阿非利加努斯保存):

τοῦτο τὸ σκότος ἔκλειψιν τοῦ ἡλίου Θάλλος ἀποκαλεῖ ἐν τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν.

Transliteration (音譯):

Touto to skotos ekleipsin tou hēliou Thallos apokalei en tritē tōn historiōn.

Translation:

"Thallus, in the third book of his histories, calls this darkness an eclipse of the sun."

「塔盧斯在其《歷史》第三卷中，稱此黑暗為日食。」

Analysis (分析): Africanus then refutes Thallus' explanation, arguing that a solar eclipse cannot occur during a full moon (Passover falls at full moon). While we must be cautious since we are reading Thallus through Africanus' lens, the significance is that Thallus—a non-Christian writer from the mid-first century—apparently knew about the darkness associated with the crucifixion and sought a naturalistic explanation for it, rather than denying the event itself.

阿非利加努斯隨後駁斥了塔盧斯的解釋，論證日食不可能在滿月時發生（逾越節恰在滿月）。雖然我們必須謹慎，因為我們是透過阿非利加努斯的視角閱讀塔盧斯，但其意義在於：塔盧斯——一位公元一世紀中葉的非基督教作者——顯然知悉與釘十字架相關的黑暗現象，並試圖以自然主義的方式加以解釋，而非否認此事件本身。

(References: Julius Africanus, *Chronography*, fragment preserved in George Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica*; Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament*, pp. 20–23; F.F. Bruce, *Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament*, Eerdmans, 1974.)

Conclusion 結論

The evidence for the historical existence of Jesus of Nazareth, drawn entirely from non-Christian sources, is remarkably strong and converges from multiple independent lines of testimony. To summarize the key witnesses:

取自完全非基督教史料的關於拿撒勒人耶穌歷史存在之證據，極為有力，且來自多條獨立證詞線索的匯聚。茲總結關鍵見證者如下：

Josephus, a Jewish historian writing c. 93–94 AD, mentions Jesus twice: once in the partially authentic Testimonium Flavianum (*AJ* 18.63–64), and once in the nearly

universally accepted reference to James as the brother of "Jesus, who was called Christ" (*AJ* 20.200). Tacitus, one of Rome's greatest historians, writing c. 116 AD, independently confirms that "Christus" was executed under Pontius Pilatus during the reign of Tiberius (*Annales* 15.44). Pliny the Younger, writing c. 111–112 AD, reports that Christians worshipped "Christus" as a god (*Epistulae* 10.96). Suetonius, writing c. 121 AD, records disturbances among Jews in Rome connected to "Chrestus" (*Vita Claudii* 25.4). Lucian of Samosata, a pagan satirist writing c. 165–170 AD, mockingly refers to the founder of Christianity as "that crucified sophist" (*De Morte Peregrini* 11, 13). Mara bar Serapion, a pagan Stoic philosopher possibly writing as early as the 70s AD, likely refers to Jesus as "the wise king" of the Jews. And the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 43a) records an adversarial Jewish tradition about "Yeshu the Nazarene" being executed on the eve of Passover—a hostile account that nonetheless confirms the existence of the figure it attacks.

約瑟夫斯，一位猶太歷史學家，寫作於約公元93–94年，兩次提及耶穌：一次在部分真實的弗拉維安見證中（《猶太古史》18.63–64），一次在幾乎被普遍認定為真實的段落中，稱雅各為「那被稱為基督的耶穌之兄弟」（《猶太古史》20.200）。塔西佗，羅馬最偉大的歷史學家之一，寫作於約公元116年，獨立證實「基督」在提比略統治期間被龐提烏斯·彼拉圖斯處死（《編年史》15.44）。小普林尼，寫作於約公元111–112年，報告基督徒崇拜「基督」如同一位神明（《書信集》10.96）。蘇維托尼烏斯，寫作於約公元121年，記錄了羅馬猶太人中與「克雷斯圖斯」相關的騷亂（《克勞狄傳》25.4）。薩莫薩塔的路吉安，一位異教諷刺作家，寫作於約公元165–170年，嘲諷地稱基督教創始者為「那位被釘十字架的智辯家」（《佩雷格里努斯之死》11、13節）。瑪拉·巴爾·塞拉皮翁，一位異教斯多葛派哲學家，可能最早在公元70年代寫作，很可能指稱耶穌為猶太人的「智慧君王」。而巴比倫塔木德（《公議會篇》43a）記錄了關於「拿撒勒人耶穌」在逾越節前夕被處死的敵對猶太傳統——一份充滿敵意的記載，卻仍確認了其所攻擊之人物的存在。

What is particularly compelling is that these sources are not only independent of one another but are frequently hostile toward Jesus and toward Christianity. None of them has any motivation to fabricate a historical Jesus. On the contrary, their hostility makes their incidental confirmation of his existence all the more probative. As the biblical scholar Bart D. Ehrman has observed: "That he was crucified is as sure as anything historical can ever be, since both Josephus and Tacitus agree with the Christian accounts on at least that basic fact." Similarly, John Dominic Crossan, a scholar of the historical Jesus who is by no means a conservative apologist, has stated that the crucifixion of Jesus under Pontius Pilate is among the most certain facts of the ancient world.

尤其令人信服的是，這些史料不僅彼此獨立，而且往往對耶穌及基督教抱有敵意。它們中沒有任何一份有動機捏造一位歷史上的耶穌。相反，正是它們的敵意使其對耶穌存在之附帶確認更具證明力。正如聖經學者巴特·D·厄爾曼所言：「他被釘十字架，其確定性達到了歷史事實所能達到的極致，因為約瑟夫斯和塔西佗至少在這一基本事實上與基督教的記載相吻合。」同樣，約翰·多米尼克·克羅森——一位研究歷史耶穌的學者，絕非保守派護教者——也曾表示，耶穌在龐提烏斯·彼拉多治下被釘十字架，乃是古代世界最確定的事實之一。

The convergence of Roman, Jewish, pagan, and even satirical testimony firmly establishes that Jesus of Nazareth was a real historical person who lived in first-century Judaea, attracted a following, was executed under Roman authority, and gave rise to a movement that his own contemporaries and near-contemporaries could not ignore.

羅馬、猶太、異教乃至諷刺文學之見證的匯聚，堅實地確立了拿撒勒人耶穌是一位真實的歷史人物，他生活在公元一世紀的猶地亞，吸引了追隨者，在羅馬當局之下被處死，並開創了一場其同時代人及近同時代人無法忽視的運動。

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